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Commonweal

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The American Contradiction

Communism in Africa

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Catholic Journal, Protestant Columnist

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Crisis in the Congo

THE SURPRISE United States offer of military aid for the United Nations mission in the Congo raises once again the question of the future of that sorely divided land. The U.N.'s objective in the Congo is, and always has been, to secure a stable and self-respecting government there. The continued secession of Moise Tshombe's Katanga Province from the central government at Leopoldville has been the major factor preventing the realization of that objective. Now, it seems, is the crucial time that Secretary-General U Thant has chosen to order Tshombe to "fish or cut bait."

The U.N. inherited from the Belgian's failure to prepare the Congo for independence little more than a comic conflict of "barrel-house kings with feet unstable." In order to prevent civil war, the U.N. was empowered to send a military mission to the Congo. But it should also be recalled that the U.N. sponsored the making of a federal constitution for the Congo, based upon a central government. For it is chiefly in order to implement this constitution that U.N. troops have remained in the Congo; that is the positive reason for their being there.

The mission has been a constant drain on the U.N.'s treasury; moreover, the money supporting it threatens to run out. Meanwhile, Cyrille Adoula's moderate government in Leopoldville has been under constant strain and is considerably weakened. No wonder, then, that U Thant has taken steps to secure Tshombe's cooperation with the regime before time runs out.

Mr. Thant, wisely, is not only attempting to realize his objective with threats and military muscle-flexing. For at the same time that the U.N. is building for a show of force, it is also exploring the possibilities of a compromise solution, based upon Tshombe's offer to share the foreign income from Katanga's rich cobalt and copper mines. This mineral wealth of Katanga's also opens the way for economic sanctions, which might also force her hand, short of open fighting.

If the more peaceable means of winning Katanga over into reunification fail, however, hopefully the threat of arms will not. At least Mr. Thant is determined that they shall not, a fact which ought to impress Mr. Tshombe enough to lead him to a more peaceful solution. In the deployment of troops, Mr. Thant is following Dag Hammarskjold's policy of drawing the armed forces of the U.N. from countries other than the Big Four. There can, then, be little weight attached to rumors of the use of U.S. troops. Moreover, since the more the military hardware, the more effective the threat, the U.S. move in offering transport and fighter planes and guns, can only be supported.

WHAT IS TO be avoided at all costs is the development of the Congo crisis into another cold war clash. The best reason to champion the U.N.'s present effort to secure its objective there is that the power vacuum created by her failure to do so would almost inevitably find the Russians trying to fill it, as they did in 1960. As a commentator put it recently, it could be very tempting to the Soviets to use the Congo as a theater for recouping the prestige lost in Cuba. That, of course, could very easily lead to an open conflict between the two world powers, which could once again lead the world to the brink. Needless to say, the U.S. wants to avoid such an eventuality if at all possible.

In the meantime, the situation in the Congo has been one of the points at issue between the U.S. and Great Britain. For while the British government has supported the U.N.'s aims in the Congo, it has been reluctant to go along with any extreme measures. It did, however, finally agree to join a proposed embargo on Katanga's mineral exports, in case other negotiations fail. Whether Prime Minister Macmillan's talks with President Kennedy will

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result in Britain's increased support for the U.N.'s position remains to be seen.

In the recent discussions of the U.N.'s attempt to bolster its military mission in the Congo, it should not be forgotten that the U.N. has also, and more importantly, been supporting a Civilian Operation to help the Congo stand on its own feet. To date, it has financed (along with help from the Belgians) and staffed a medical, educational and social program unlike anything in the U.N.'s history. It is this program which the Katangese stand to benefit from, and which, consequently, lends meaning to the whole attempt to secure reunification. At any rate the United Nations has made a tremendous investment in it, and the Operation is in itself the best insurance against possible Communist subversion.

In a real sense, the Congo is a test-case and a symbol of the emergence of the Dark Continent into the arena of world affairs. Whether the Congo can accept the responsibilities of democratic government, or whether it will yield to the pull of anarchism and eventual Communist domination depends very much upon the U.N.'s ability to seize this occasion of the Congo's trial.

It should not be forgotten by us that Dag Hammarskjold essentially gave his life to the effort to obtain a stable government for the Congo. He said, "The world is no longer willing nor in a position to accept the consequences of the continued splits, abetted by outside interests, which divide the country. Reconciliation on a nationwide scale is . . . imperative, and anyone . . . refusing to make his full and selfless contribution to such a reconciliation shoulders a heavy responsibility."

The day has indeed long since past when we could afford to neglect the struggles of far-distant countries. We must become involved with them at least to the extent that we share the responsibility for their failure to achieve self-government. To cynics, who will interpret intervention in the Congo purely in terms of a struggle for power, it is not out of place to recall the words of Mr. Walter Lippmann, who reminded us some years ago that "the liberties of others are our own most vital necessity."

Tax Cuts and Incentive

FOR SOME months now, the prospect of a quick tax cut has been both a tantalizing and a controversial idea. Last Spring, when the President decided, despite a business decline and a stock market slump, to delay a cut, there was considerable disappointment on many sides. Now, however, the President apparently has made a firm decision to press for a substantial reduction in personal and corporate tax rates as soon as Congress reconvenes. Unlike the situation in the Spring, when there was some suspicion that the President encouraged talk of a cut in order that the talk itself might stimulate business, his commitment now seems firm.

The reasons for a tax cut are compelling. In the first place, there is now sufficient evidence on hand to show that the present business and economic recovery has been slow and halting, especially in comparison with past post-recession trends. Second, there is now general agreement that a progressive slump in corporate profit margins over the past few years has seriously dampened investor enthusiasm and risk-taking. Third, both the President and many of his advisers appear willing to admit the validity of the incessant claims of business that a high tax rate has hindered private investments and speculation. Finally, there appears to be a growing consensus that, whatever the value of governmental expenditures for the short-run health of the economy, they do not make a very great contribution to long-run economic progress.

Despite these reasons, and despite the widespread desire for a tax reduction, it is not yet certain that the President will be successful in pushing a program through Congress. Representative Wilbur Mills in the House, and Senator Harry Byrd are both opposed to tax cuts without major reforms. Of the two, however, Senator Byrd is the most adamant on the necessity of a reduction of federal expenditures to accompany any tax reduction. His fears of dangerous inflation and an insupportable increase in the federal deficit are shared by many conservatives and members of the business community.

While it is too early to be certain how the President's bill will fare (and its details are not yet fully known), it seems likely that Congress will have to make a basic choice. It can choose either to support the President's contention, with its speculative risks, that a growing economy will produce the revenue lost by a tax cut even without a reduction in government spending; or it can choose to back the conservative contention that a growth in the economy requires a sharply reduced level of federal expenditures combined with a sharp tax reduction.

Unfortunately, both our domestic and international requirements make a high level of government spending a necessity; and the needs of the economically deprived remain obvious.

This means high taxes. Since a choice must be made, it seems to us a worthwhile venture to test the President's contention. There is no other way of resolving a debate of this kind.

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Our Southern Appalachians

IF WEST VIRGINIA was the state in which Mr. Kennedy first conclusively demonstrated his mettle as a Presidential candidate, it was also one where the plight of its people was most desperate. Today, two years later, things are not much better. Fewer are receiving unemployment benefits, although this means that many of the jobless are no longer eligible for this kind of assistance. The government has increased its defense spending there fourfold in the past two years, and West Virginia has attracted a number of new industrial plants, but these are hardly enough to offset the number that have suspended operations. One-eighth of the people in the state are currently receiving help from federal food surpluses.

One visitor to the scene was told that while many older people lived off relief, the younger ones were emigrating (contrary to the general pattern, West Virginia fell in population by two hundred thousand from 1950 to 1960). Decline in farming and coal mining is primarily responsible, and in the latter case the mechanizing of the mines. West Virginians envisage a number of imaginative, feasible and impractical remedies including: developing their mountains as Alps-like recreation areas; planting orchards in run-down mining areas and finding new uses for coal; making fertile grasslands on leveled hilltops; using their forest resources to develop a furniture industry. Many West Virginians have a number of out-of-the-ordinary ideas and want to make a go of things.

The same is true of the whole Southern Appalachian region comprising besides West Virginia the neglected, remote "back-ends" of six other states. A recent issue of the *Information Service* of the National Council of Churches cites the first reports in book form of a joint study made by the TVA, other government agencies, the Ford Foundation and several local colleges and universities. Attitudes in the region appear to be changing. The mountaineers' proverbial anti-social individualism and fatalistic resignation are giving way to at least passive support of social change.

Dr. Thomas Ford, editor of one of the survey volumes, believes that three efforts are greatly needed: to develop the individual citizen's sense of social responsibility on the basis of Christian love of neighbor; to teach groups how to organize and utilize proven economic techniques; to reduce the prejudices and misunderstanding arising from the confrontation of rural migrants and long-time city-dwellers. When an economically depressed region is so extensive and the problem is so difficult, federal aid is an essential. But the effectiveness of this aid can be greatly multiplied by constructive local effort initiated from within.

A Protestant Columnist

WITH THIS issue, *The Commonweal* takes great pleasure in presenting the first of what will be a regular column by Robert McAfee Brown, "A Protestant Viewpoint." As a Protestant theologian and ecumenicist, Dr. Brown brings to the unique task of writing as a Protestant for a Catholic journal a distinguished background. Formerly Auburn Professor of Religion at Union Seminary, New York, Dr. Brown is presently Professor of Religion in the Special Programs in Humanities at Stanford University. The author of *The Spirit of Protestantism* and co-author, with Father Gustave Weigel, S.J., of *An American Dialogue*, he was recently appointed an observer for the second session of the Vatican Council, representing the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the World Presbyterian Alliance.

There was a time, not many years ago, when the appearance of a Protestant theologian in the pages of a Catholic journal would have been unthinkable. Catholics would not have cared (or dared) to attempt such a venture and, even if they had, few Protestants would have wanted to appear in such an odd context. Those days, happily, have now passed. If it still remains something of a novelty for a Protestant to write for a Catholic audience, the sense of surprise and wonderment on both sides is beginning to wear off. Not only do Catholic periodicals on occasion print articles by Protestants, it is increasingly common to encounter books on ecumenical matters co-authored or co-edited by Catholics and Protestants.

The reason for this development is slowly becoming evident; though occasional skirmishes still occur, the four-hundred year cold war which has ravaged Christendom since the Reformation is rapidly coming to an end. Though reunion is hardly yet in the offing, genuine understanding and respect are. That is a tremendous gain.

Yet despite these great changes and bold initiatives, much of the dialogue between Catholics and Protestants has been random and unformed. Until Pope John established the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, Catholic efforts were restricted to the work of individual, enterprising theologians and the *ad hoc* work of scattered groups and publications. With the establishment, however, of the Secretariat and with, hopefully, the work of the Second Vatican Council, there is every likelihood that the ecumenical thrust will be firmly

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established in the mainstream of Catholic life and thought.

Obviously, no single effort can erase the past. But by inviting Dr. Brown to appear regularly in these pages, *The Commonweal* hopes to make a contribution to the permanent dialogue. Only by a persistent effort and unflagging effort can it continue to be productive and fruitful. The age of the random gesture must now be put behind us. In the work of Dr. Brown, the seriousness of the Protestant quest for unity has been apparent. We are proud to have him in our pages.

The Monk Who Was a Jew

Jerusalem

CAN A CATHOLIC priest, a convert from Judaism, remain a Jew? That was the crux of the matter presented before a panel of five judges of the Supreme Court of Israel, on November nineteenth last. The bench, however, decided on December sixth, surprisingly quickly, that Father Daniel, O.C.D., is in fact no longer a Jew. It was a test case for the State of Israel. For Israel, in its fifteenth year, does not yet have a constitution, but only "constitutional principles" (human rights, freedom of the press, etc.), for the good reason that the fundamental question of who is a Jew has yet to be settled.

The idea of the Jew is indeed at the base of the State dreamed of by Theodor Herzl, Zionism's prophet: the State of Israel wants to be and presents itself to the world as the Jewish State. But it remains to be defined what makes a Jew a Jew. If the meaning of the word is based on a purely religious idea, Israel must logically become a theocratic State: the Knesseth (Parliament) would become a Sanhedrin, like its ancient counterpart, and the Chief Rabbinate would retain the executive power. But if the religious meaning of the word can be separated from its ethnic meaning, the State of Israel must resolutely take the democratic and laical path.

In the latter case, the Jew would no longer be characterized by his belonging to the Jewish religion, but to the Jewish "nation." Theoretically at least, one could therefore be an Israeli citizen of Jewish nationality and of Catholic faith. The Supreme Court has decided, however, that it cannot be so: the Israeli citizenship is not linked to a specific religion, but a Jew is entitled to it automatically. Yet a Jew cannot remain a Jew if he chooses positively another religion. Therefore, the Israeli citizen converted from Judaism to another religion cannot be registered as belonging to the Jewish nationality—he keeps, naturally, his Israeli citizenship. Moreover, a prospective immigrant, who is no longer a Jew, will be granted his citizenship only in due course, and not automatically, as is customary for an "authentic" Jew.

The subject of the recent affair, Father Daniel, is actually a monk at the Carmelite Monastery of Stella Maris overhanging the Haifa Bay. Father Daniel does not give the impression of being a hero at all. Small and meek, with a reddish-brown beard and bespectacled, he is nevertheless a real hero. Hundreds can testify to the fact in Israel itself, and the Polish government of Gomulka has given the title of "hero" to him officially.

Father Daniel, who is forty years old, was born Oswald Rufeisen in Poland and comes from a traditionally Jewish family; he was an active member of a Zionist religious youth movement. When Poland was occupied by the Nazis, he entered the underground movement. Father Daniel discovered Christianity when he was rescued from extermination by Catholics. He became a convert in 1942 and went on with his struggle against the Nazis, in the ranks of the Polish underground.

Conversion did not diminish the solidarity Father Daniel felt with the Jewish people. In 1945, he entered the Carmelite Order. (Incidentally, his ordination picture is printed in Polish and in Hebrew.) In 1948 the struggle that ultimately resulted in the independence of Israel began, and Father Daniel asked to go to Palestine, but circumstances were against him. Only in 1959, after resorting to the head of his order in Rome, did he receive, finally, the permission to emigrate to Israel. The Polish authorities gave the green light to his departure only because in their eyes Father Daniel is a Jew. They demanded, moreover, that he renounce his Polish citizenship before emigrating.

Ultimately, Father Daniel's dream came true; he arrived in Israel. Notwithstanding the fact that he was the only member of his family to be converted to the Catholic faith, he was welcomed in Israel by his brother and dozens of old friends, a few of whom he had saved from the Nazis in the old days. Then an unexpected event took place: the Ministry of the Interior refused to grant Father Daniel Israeli citizenship under the "Law of Return." This law, voted in 1950, authorized all Jews to emigrate to Israel. It was complemented in 1952 by the "Nationality Laws," which confer Israeli citizenship automatically on Jews immigrating in Israel by virtue of the Law of Return.

The Minister of the Interior was then Mr. Ba Yehuda, member of the left-wing party in the government coalition. He is known for his anti-clerical views against Jewish religious circles. But in this case he wrote privately to Father Daniel that he did not see

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any inconvenience—on the contrary—to granting him Israeli citizenship. But, as the Law of Return did not seem applicable to him, Bar Yehuda advised him to ask for an ordinary naturalization—that would be granted to him immediately—rather than demand citizenship by virtue of the Law of Return.

Thus, Father Daniel saw himself received with open arms in the land of his dreams, but not precisely as he asked it: The State of Israel refused to recognize that Father Daniel belongs to the Jewish people. But Father Daniel was not daunted. When Mr. Bar Yehuda resigned, he applied to the new Minister, Mr. Shapiro, a member of the National Religious Party, who affirmed that he could not consider Father Daniel a Jew, notwithstanding his glorious past, because he had embraced another religion.

The categorical and negative answer of the Minister of the Interior impelled Father Daniel to bring his case before the Supreme Court and to ask for an "order nisi" against the ministry. He thus appealed to the highest jurisdiction to decide whether national incorporation with the Jewish people is not sufficiently justified by origin, education and feeling.

To understand the position of Father Daniel and the wall of incomprehensibility before which he had to stand, it will suffice to recall that, traditionally, the conversion of a Jew meant that he abandoned one camp for another, which was considered as that of the enemy. We can thus affirm that Father Daniel personified what the religious Jew most abhors: an apostate converted to the Catholic faith who becomes a priest.

FROM A juridical point of view, the case was certainly considered extremely important. The bench was made up of five judges instead of three, as in ordinary cases. The Ministry of the Interior was defended by state attorney Bar Niv, and Father Daniel was represented by Mr. Shalom Yaron. Mr. Bar Niv based his reasoning on the Talmud and the Biblical Commentaries, cited sociological and philosophical works, read extracts of declarations and writings of Theodor Herzl, Prime Minister Ben Gurion and others. In short, he affirmed that it is not sufficient to say that one "feels" Jewish, because Jewishness is not a community founded simply on feeling.

Mr. Yaron, counsel for Father Daniel, said for his part that his client had always been a Zionist, and that, in struggling against the Nazis, he did not risk his life for his brothers because they were of Jewish faith, but because he felt a national affinity with them. Mr. Yaron recalled that Zionism was originally a laical movement, rejected by the orthodox Jews. He cited excerpts of the same books that were cited by his opponent, and they were not less convincing. He referred to the well-known declaration of Mr. Ben Gurion that "the State of Israel is not a State founded on religious law, but on civil law." Finally, Mr. Yaron resumed his position: "If we want to be a nation like all other nations, as we have always wanted, I do not see how to refuse a man the right to have a religious credo voluntarily accepted and other than Judaism, and at the same time, to affirm himself a Jew."

The audience-chamber was filled with civil servants of the higher bracket, Catholic and Protestant clergymen, converts and the foreign and local press. The judges were certainly aware that their verdict would be of some importance to the religious and civic future of Israel. Will Israel remain a fragment of the ancient Jewish world, dispersed, anachronistic and tormented, where religious and national elements are inextricably blended? Or does Israel want to become a modern State, where religion is reserved to the individual and free conscience, and where belonging to the Jewish nation would ultimately mean partaking of the rich human treasure of the majority of the citizens?

The Supreme Court, on December sixth, decided by four to one that Father Daniel was no longer a Jew—in any meaning of the term—because he is a convert to another religion. The text of the verdict is long, but it can be summarized in a few words. According to Jewish religious tradition, Father Daniel is an apostate, but remains a Jew, although a sinner. But, as the Law of Return (which allows all Jews to immigrate in Israel) was voted by the Israeli Parliament, which is the laical legislative power of the State, the term "Jew" in the law must be taken in the sense most commonly employed by the Jewish people of our time, and that is: a Jew that adopts another religion is no longer a Jew.

Although the Chairman of the Court underlined the fact that the verdict does not support a theocratic line in Israel, because the State wants to remain a civil state, it is, notwithstanding, paradoxically the case that the criterion that allows one to define the Jewish nationality is a religious one. Finally, the Chairman emphasized the fact that the judgment was in no sense directed against the Catholic Church or against the person of Father Daniel, as is proved by the fact that the State of Israel gladly accepted Father Daniel in its midst by immediately offering to him Israeli citizenship (it takes five years in normal proceedings).

Father Daniel has accepted his citizenship. Still, he must think to himself: if to be green were a Jewish characteristic, I wonder if the decision of the Court would have made me white. But it will be admitted from now on in Israel, where a man is characterized by a citizenship, a nationality and a religion (in virtue of the "personal status" legacy of the Ottoman Law), that a man can remain without a nationality and be a good and honored citizen.

MAX LAZEGA

(Max Lazega, a Catholic journalist and himself an Israeli citizen, writes for various French and African publications.)

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Birth Control in Illinois

FOR MONTHS a debate has raged in Illinois over the question of providing contraceptive advice and devices to women on the public welfare rolls. Recently the matter was settled by a six-to-four vote in the Illinois Public Aid Commission, and from now on married and unmarried welfare clients will be able to receive contraceptive advice and devices at public expense. Such a solution does not, in my opinion, represent good public policy.

Almost inevitably, the struggle in Illinois tended to follow religious lines. Catholics opposed public subsidy for birth control; Protestants and Jews tended to favor it, although not unanimously. But to one seeing the affair from this distance, the initial impulse for state support of birth control came not from religious but fiscal convictions.

Like Newburgh and many another community, Illinois in general and Chicago in particular are unhappy over the cost of welfare services. Welfare costs in the state have more than doubled in the last ten years, partly because of a heavy migration of unskilled Negroes from the South. Aid to dependent children is a substantial part of the welfare budget, and proponents of birth control argued that their solution would cut down on the number of children born to women already on the relief rolls. The current welfare budget in Illinois runs to six hundred and thirty-one million dollars. Birth control measures, the chairman of the commission estimated, could cut future costs by thirty million dollars a year.

If the original motivation of those who argued for publicly subsidized birth control was to save on welfare costs, however, other factors soon came into play. Many proponents of birth control see their position in terms of a moral crusade; for them planned parenthood is something to be promoted with all the fervor of a religious position. But while I am quite willing to grant the sincerity of those who hold such views, the decision reached in Illinois seems to me unsound and the precedent established a dangerous one.

The birth control issue is one of the knottiest problems any public official can face. On one side of the coin there is the solution embodied in the laws in force in Massachusetts and Connecticut. In both states the dissemination of birth control information is a crime; in Connecticut the situation is particularly bad, for there not only the dissemination but the use of birth control devices is declared illegal.

Many Catholics support the anti-birth control laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut—at least they oppose their removal. I cannot for the life of me understand why they continue to take this position. Catholics do not hold that everything they consider immoral should therefore be illegal, and the laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut in fact were not written by Catholics but date back to the days of Protestant Comstockery. Here it is significant, I think, that Catholics have not tried to introduce similar legislation even in areas where they constitute a majority. Why, then, should we continue to support the laws now on the books in Massachusetts and Connecticut?

But if the laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut are bad, the situation in Illinois seems to me to represent the other and equally objectionable side of the same coin. The Catholic conviction that contraception by chemical and mechanical means is a violation of the natural law is not a popular one, and I am not foolish enough to imagine that it will become so. We cannot help that, although we might hope to do a better job of explaining our position. But whatever Protestants and Jews think of our reasoning, the fact remains that this is the Catholic position, and I do not see how this fact can be ignored.

If it can be argued that the law in Massachusetts and Connecticut must respect the convictions of those who favor birth control, does this not work the other way too? What of the consciences of Catholics in Illinois whose tax money will now be used to subsidize practices they seriously oppose as immoral and bad public policy?

The truth of the matter, I think, is that birth control is simply not a proper matter for public law, one way or the other. Good law demands a certain consensus, and that consensus is clearly lacking on this question. Further, I simply cannot understand the insensitivity of birth control advocates to steps that seem to me, purely on political grounds, to be leading the state in a dangerous direction.

Many Protestants and Jews resent it when Catholics bring up sterilization and abortion in discussions of birth control. But Catholics cannot ignore the fact that the subjects are increasingly linked, and this without going as far afield as Japan's or India's population control policies. In New York City, for instance, sterilization operations have in recent years been carried out on welfare patients at public expense, and I am sure other comparable examples could be cited.

For my part, I see the marriage relationship as one that is personal and sacred. Birth control legislation, pro or con, grants powers to the state which I am quite unwilling to concede. Whether in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Illinois or wherever, then, it is my conviction that we should keep the state strictly out of the bedroom.

JAMES O'GARA

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Michael Harrington

The American Contradiction

Much of the current wave of self-denunciation rests upon an uncriticized, optimistic assumption

IN THE *New Yorker* recently, James Baldwin wrote a moving description of a Harlem childhood and an adult encounter with Elijah Muhammad. His account of rat-infested tenements and the deep, despairing frustration of the Negro was surrounded by ads, among them a Cartier offer of ear clips at $1,500 and a two-page spread on Paul Masson champagne. Which is to say: America contradicts itself in the same way it does everything else, with verve and energy. It commits its social and cultural sins with such obvious relish that being born with eyes qualifies a man as a critic.

In the past decade or so, these American social contradictions have become intellectual big business. It is almost as if the nation has been holding a sociological revival meeting; the sinners have been confessing with enthusiasm. Books about the Organization Man and Status Seekers have become best-sellers that no organization man or status seeker can afford to miss. And at times it seems that Suburbia is really named Sodom and Gomorrah.

Some of this criticism has been superficial, some profound. In any case, it turns out that during the Eisenhower decade of American celebration and self-congratulation there was an intellectual underground of discontent. If John F. Kennedy has not put the program of this American Resistance into effect, he has created an atmosphere in which the burden of the critique is much more obvious. So it is that we can perhaps speak of a new critical consensus in the United States, an agreement among the educated on what is wrong.

And yet, much of this self-denunciation rests upon an uncriticized, optimistic assumption: that change, even basic change, is always an eventual option in this society. In taking this proposition as a premise, a good number of the nay-sayers avoid facing the most terrible, damning condemnation of them all. Is it possible that America has become a society of stalemate, that its peculiar genius for balance, compromise and accommodation has finally corrupted its social vitality, that its hard-won moderation is a radical flaw?

The new intellectual consensus is essentially a critique of the distortions of abundance. It assumes affluence as a given, and relatively immutable, fact. This distinguishes it from the attitudes of the thirties. As the consensus has been elaborated by a wide range of writers working independently, it has developed two main themes: the mis-allocation of affluence in the economic sphere; the intellectual and spiritual poverty of affluence in social life. In economics, the liberal American intelligentsia (and, William Buckley *pace*, there is no other) has generally accepted the analysis of J. K. Galbraith's *Affluent Society*. In this genuinely radical book, the wealth of the prosperous private sector of the nation is contrasted with the poverty of the public sector. The nation is called upon to leave behind the "conventional wisdom" based upon the assumption of scarcity and the consequent imperative toward ever-increasing efficiency. In such a society, Galbraith argues, it is possible to make economics more conscious and human.

In essence, Galbraith is proposing a much larger scope for public decision in the allocation of resources. As a theory, this tends toward the radical vision of a society of democratic planning. As interpreted by the New Frontier intellectuals, it is moderated into an argument that the nation must deal with glaring inequities and lagging growth rates; and it emerges in legislative proposals like Medicare, or a program for a national labor policy. But when the Galbraith-flavored bills come under the scrutiny of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition, the domestic ruling party, what started out as a social blood transfusion becomes a band-aid.

Galbraith's book was brilliant, well put, but its title

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was more widely read than its contents. This gave rise to the impression that the only poverty in the United States was located in public institutions, that all of the rest of the society was affluent. It didn't matter that Galbraith had specifically argued that a peculiarly tenacious and paradoxical poverty was a feature of affluence. However, within the last year the poverty issue has been re-stated by a group of authors: by Leon Keyserling, Gabriel Kolko, Robert Lampman, and this writer. One element, then, in the new economic consensus is that there must be a special program to deal with poverty.

The Galbraithian element in the new consensus differs from orthodox New Deal theory in two important aspects. First, as noted earlier, it rests upon the assumption of abundance, a category foreign to the thinking of the thirties. Secondly, where the welfare state of the Depression was a spontaneous, improvised and contradictory response to economic break-down, the ideas of the sixties involve, usually under cover of euphemism, the notion of some kind of social planning. Yet, even with these differences, there is a continuity between the concern for the public sector in the new consensus and the traditional thinking of American liberals and radicals. It is in the area of social critique, of fascination with the "quality of life" that the new consensus most clearly marks a departure specific to the post-war period.

At the end of the fifties, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., wrote a memorandum for the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. It argued that the New Deal's "quantitive" liberalism had to change to "qualitative." In part, Schlesinger was restating some Galbraithian ideas on the importance of the public sector. But he was also responding to a mood of dissatisfaction with the mind and spirit of affluence. In this, he was articulating the themes of a small army of critics: the analysts of alienation, suburban anxiety, organizational bureaucracy, status, planned obsolescence and the like. These ideas do not deal with the unfinished business of the thirties, but with the new business of the fifties and sixties.

The popularity of Erich Fromm is a rich symbol of this phenomenon. A psychoanalyst and a democratic socialist, Fromm has struck a responsive chord among a broad stratum of the middle class who have discovered a spiritual crisis just behind the good income. His audiences are one more American contradiction. Usually well-dressed and prosperous, they listen with rapt attention to an indictment of the psychological havoc, the spiritual alienation, of the capitalist society which treats their bank accounts so well. Among his listeners are those who would be relatively unmoved by an analysis of the public sector or a description of poverty. But they are enthralled when the analyst shows them their face in the mirror and points out their cold, loveless, joyless features.

What turns the patient into an amateur pathologist? In part, it is because the anxiety of middle-class America is so free-floating. If there were hard choices and specific alternatives to act upon, one suspects these people would not take such masochistic pleasure in hearing of the symptoms of their own disease. The very stability of the status quo which disquiets them also allows them to indulge their guilt. To face up to the scandal of segregation, the poverty of the schools or the chaos of megapolis is to confront political decision; to face up to the face in the mirror is less strenuous and, so long as the analysis is of groups rather than individuals, less dangerous. In some instances, the nature of the psychological discontent in the new consensus leads to fatalism. Bureaucracy is seen as an inherent fixture of modern technology and so is the ennui that accompanies it. The perceptive individual is one of The Happy Few who makes a Stendhalian accommodation, a contemptous, alienated deal with his environment.

Yet, granted the difficulties of politicizing a concern with drift and purposelessness, there are those who attempt the translation; and it is part of the new consensus. On the radical wing, there is an English writer like Raymond Williams. For Williams, the degradation of the word and spirit in modern society is not a "natural" tendency of technology and mass media but a man-made and social fact. It is the consequence of the domination of culture by those who profit economically from the systematic corruption of the mind. In this perspective, a program for economic and political change must also be a proposal for cultural transformation.

However, most of the cultural critics are not, alas, as radical as Fromm and Williams. They too feel that conscious, political decisions can better the quality of life. But their horizons are more limited. Newton Minow asserts the public interest in the area of television programing. City planners, like Charles Abrams, inveigh against the bureaucratic coldness and isolation of public housing. Jane Jacobs argues for the human value of a certain amount of urban inefficiency and lack of planning.

Taken together, these instances are obviously not exhaustive of the new consensus; yet they should suggest its broad outline. In the critic's America (or modern society, which is the same thing), life is still dominated by socially and culturally irresponsible institutions of power. In the economic sphere, it is necessary to counteract the tendency of the society to tip dangerously in the direction of the private desires of the really affluent. More broadly, there must also be conscious planning for the quality of life, lest modern man be bored to death by the environment which he has made. And until there are changes, America will remain materialistic in the most crass sense of the word, fat but un-

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satisfied, run by bureaucracies and status seekers, distorted by success.

Normally, the appearance in American life of an intellectual consensus is the harbinger of eventual social change. But the momentous question of the sixties may well be: is it really and happily true that somehow, cultural lag and all, this social critique will become a program for action?

CLEARLY, the critics and their fellow-travelers cannot themselves change what they condemn. All of them put together in one Congressional District (and who would want to live there?) might send one representative to Washington. In the past, this fact was not too fearful. Intellectual consensuses always started in relatively small groups—but then, they became relevant to the desire, if not the despair, of millions. A Lincoln, a Teddy Roosevelt, a Wilson or an F.D.R. would integrate the outsiders or at least some of their ideas, into American life. But now, have the critics lost that potential audience which in the past was regularly driven by life to the practice of theory?

Gunnar Myrdal has described America, and other technologically advanced societies, as "integrated." In his image, every powerful organized group has a stake in the status quo. Under such circumstances, politics become a matter of accommodation, compromise and deals. The Archimedian point of real social change, once located in massive groups standing outside the status quo, is thereby lost. Suffering and deprivation remain, to be sure, but not among those who are politically, or even potentially, significant. The unorganized and unorganizable are frustrated and impotent; the organized are too busy in the corridors of power to care.

Herbert Marcuse has put essentially the same idea in a terrifying psychological setting. Have we, he has asked, become the first society in which men become volunteer slaves? When domination and exploitation were a matter of brute, naked and obvious force, there was always the possibility of slave rebellion, *jaquerie,* strike or revolution. Now, power remains, but it persuades, rather than forces, people into subjugation. The result is anti-Utopia, but not like *1984* in which the Proles continue to lead their drone lives. Rather, as in *Brave New World,* the overwhelming majority are content and even happy to be a docile social and political minority.

In the nineteenth century, reformers and radicals saw two main sources of social change. The liberal believed in the benign working of education, reason, enlightened self-interest. The socialist argued that the self-interest of the exploited mass was the general interest of society, that the desperate egoism of the working majority was the last historical disguise of the brotherhood of man. There was something to both theories. Education has lifted society up, the struggles of the exploited have been the main dynamic of gains in social ethics for generations. Yet these hypotheses also omitted factors of which we are particularly conscious. The rise of literacy under the rule of power also leads to the degradation of the word, to new subtleties of mastery; and a labor movement without idealism and élan can develop its own, simply egoistic, egoism.

Is the result, then, a society of stalemate? Earlier in the century, sociologists like Max Weber and Karl Mannheim viewed this as a distinct possibility. Weber saw the triumphant march of bureaucracy and rational calculation, the disappearance of the numinous from life. Mannheim wondered if we were not approaching the first society to lack a utopia, the first society to live in the present. In the years since they wrote, there has been a disturbing amount of evidence moving in the direction of their most pessimistic insight.

THIS IS not to say that the issue is resolved, that the results are in and the Western dream of a society of autonomous human beings has fallen out of history. Today, the American labor movement has effectively adopted John L. Lewis' conservative response to the crisis of automation: to accept the destruction of jobs without proposing any basically new solutions, to retrench on the basis of the skilled workers who remain. This, to be sure, is not a simple "fault" of the unions. Walter Reuther is a member of a society which has yet to decide to adopt standards of medical care equal to those of Bismarck or Lloyd George and he can hardly be taxed with the sins of the nation.

But more basically, is it possible that this conservative approach will not work, that America is postponing crisis, not emerging from it? Perhaps a country can ignore a social transformation like automation for ten years, twenty years, thirty years—but perhaps there is yet a day of reckoning. Maybe some day there will be an Ultimate Traffic Jam in Los Angeles, and people will be marooned on the Freeways for three days with the result that there will be a desire to think about transportation problems and the growth of the cities. Perhaps the Negroes, the one group in this society not

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caught in a stalemate, will eventually shame the whites into a fraction of their social courage.

Perhaps: that is really all we can say now in terms of the most disturbing question about American society. And in the end, we have to leave the contradictions of the land almost the same as when we found them, sprawling and chaotic, saying a thousand things indistinctly and no one thing clearly. In any case, this one contradiction, this contrast between the new consensus and the new reality, is enough to give intellectual pause.

There has perhaps never before been a nation which knew so well what was wrong with it. If there is a social tragedy in the land, some government bureau has punched it onto a computer tape for the use of the social critic. The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Census have properly indexed all of the material a reformer or a revolutionist would need. More than that, a broad stratum of the educated public is vaguely aware of what's wrong in general and personally bewildered by a sense of drift and lack of purpose.

In such a situation, and in the midst of an unprecedented international crisis involving the most basic options ever faced by man, the greatest scandal is that the nation seems to be at stalemate, that it knows but doesn't care. A better-than-average President is chosen over a dangerous man by a few votes; an off-year election moves the political center of gravity by a few inches; and all the while, prophets with honor are rightly explaining that the society is at one of the most momentous times in its history.

Ultimately, though, all of this is bearable if it is interregnum. The only really decisive condemnation is the one that states that this listlessness is permanent, structured within us. That cannot yet be said, thank God; but it must be considered. And when it is thought of, it should not be, like a cobra's eye, a danger that paralyzes; it should be a goad to the individual to seize upon every possibility, every action, that will make it not come true.

VICTOR C. FERKISS

Communism in Africa

Much depends on what we in the United States do

AMERICANS unfortunately tend to evaluate all the world's happenings in terms of the Cold War. Ironically, this tendency seriously damages American ability to compete successfully with the Communists on the world scene. Nowhere has this been more vividly illustrated of late than in the Congo. The attempts of groups friendly to Moise Tshombe to portray the Katanga secessionist leader as an anti-Communist hero received considerable support because of American readiness to view the Congo as an area threatened by imminent Communist conquest. Yet no situation would offer a more inviting opportunity for Communist intervention than a divided and bankrupt Congo. Moreover, when applied to the other nations of Africa, a fixation on Communism makes us vulnerable to equally dangerous mistakes—and the adoption of policies apt to bring about the very thing we most fear, an Africa ranged on the Communist side in the Cold War.

What is the truth about the extent of present Communist strength in sub-Saharan Africa? What are the prospects for future Communist penetrations? Is the African continent, as some claim, teetering on the verge of a Communist takeover? Or are these false claims, raised by those who oppose African nationalism for ulterior reasons? The reality is more complex than either of these extreme views suggest. Moreover, the future of Communism in Africa is going to depend in large measure on what we in the United States do, including how well we manage to understand what is happening there.

For a variety of reasons, Communism was virtually non-existent in Africa south of the Sahara until a few years ago. One reason is that the social conditions which favor the growth of Communism were largely absent. Industrial activity was confined almost wholly to mining and even then to a relatively small area—parts of South Africa, Northern Rhodesia, and the Congo. Here African mine workers led a kind of para-military existence—even where, as in the Congo, family life was permitted or encouraged. Mining towns were combination company towns and prisons in which every detail of life was regulated. Laborers were attracted, sometimes from vast distances, by the prospect of cash earnings. But

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most of this labor was transient: no deep feelings of class consciousness developed. Intertribal suspicion and hostility further hindered the growth of any awareness of common class interests.

Equally important, about four-fifths of all Africans even today are agriculturalists or pastoralists, living off the land. Unlike the situation in the peasant societies of Asia, Latin America, and the Near East, almost all of rural Africa is communally owned. Although living standards are low, in normal times no one starves and the differences between rich and poor are small in comparison with those in economically advanced countries; landlordism and money-lending do not beset the African farmer. There is enough land for all, save in a few overpopulated areas and in countries such as Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, and the Republic of South Africa, where the white settlers have skimmed off the cream of arable acres. But in these latter countries, discontent is expressed in racial rather than class terms.

Even if the social conditions which normally favor the growth of Communism had existed in Africa, its spread would still have been difficult. Relatively few Africans had the education necessary to come into contact with or understand Communist ideology. Of those who did, once they gained an education, some accepted the colonial status quo and the rest saw their grievances as primarily national and racial rather than economic.

CONTACTS of African leaders with the Soviet Union were even more restricted than their contacts with Communist ideology. Prior to 1957, when Ghana started the modern surge to independence, there were only three sovereign states south of the Sahara—Liberia and South Africa, both hostile to the Soviet Union, and Ethiopia, a traditionalist monarchy, under Italian rule from 1936 until World War II. This circumstance limited the possibility of Soviet use of embassies as propaganda centers. Consulates could, of course, have been established even in colonial territories, but the Soviets did little trading with Africa and had even fewer consulates there than the United States.

Africans, therefore, could ordinarily come into contact with Communism only outside Africa. But those Africans who went abroad (virtually impossible in Belgian and Portuguese territories and not exactly encouraged by the French) were mostly students. Few went to Russia; most went to England and France and, in small but gradually increasing numbers, to the United States. Those who came to the United States often acquired a distaste for capitalism, and many suffered racial discrimination. Nevertheless, recruitment into Communist ranks was slight.

In England, Africans flocked to the London School of Economics and the red-brick universities as well as to Oxbridge. Marxism was the fashion, but it was a Marxism tainted with Fabianism and all kinds of deviationism, rather than being rigorously Moscow-centered. Only in France was Communism intellectually and socially respectable. But here Communism had to compete on the Left Bank with Trotskyism, socialism, Catholicism, existentialism, and sundry other diversions.

Despite these obstacles, more Africans would almost certainly have been attracted to Communism if the Communist party had been more enthusiastic about the Africans' principal preoccupation—national liberation. The Communists vigorously denounced nationalist movements as "bourgeois nationalism" which distracted the workers from the real struggle by dividing them along racial lines. Even after World War II, Nkrumah's Convention People's Party was condemned, along with Nehru's Congress Party in India, for collaborating in the farce of "sham independence." Liberation of colonial peoples, the Communists held, could only come as a sequel to the triumph of Communism in the colonial mother countries. Therefore African Communists should take their orders from the Communist party in the European colonial powers. Needless to say, this line repelled almost every African who might have been attracted to Communism. It spelled just another brand of European colonialism.

It was not until the 1950's that the Communists switched to supporting nationalist movements in colonial areas on the grounds that the real division in the world is between imperialists and anti-imperialists. But even this strategy has met with little success, because the Africans—however parallel their actions to those of the Communists on any given occasion—are almost exclusively concerned with their own problems, as seen within a specifically African context.

A MAJOR factor working against organized Communism in Africa is one-party government. African political movements are not only first of all nationalistic and only peripherally concerned with questions of economic philosophy, but they are also tightly controlled political machines, run from the top down by a small group or one man who sets the party line for the rank and file. The leaders who dominate the major political parties in African states tend to regard ideologies as weapons rather than as ends in themselves: their first interest is in promoting the power of their own nation and maintaining their own personal power within it. Communist organizations have about as much chance of survival in Nkrumah's Ghana or Houphouet-Boigny's Ivory Coast today as they did in Hitler's Germany. The emerging African societies and the African personality do not lend themselves to participation in underground movements, and infiltration of government is necessarily difficult in small nations with a limited political elite who know each other well.

The university students—often a source of radical ideas and activity in underdeveloped nations—are large-

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ly dependent on government scholarships and are committed to work for the government for a period of years after graduation, a situation which has tended to make them a-political. However, opposition to the political status quo is growing. But while in Nigeria this is expressed by increasingly leftist sentiments on the part of the students, in Ghana student sympathies tend to be with the conservative opposition to Nkrumah.

Communism has assiduously courted the African trade union movement, but it has met with little success. In most of the one-party states the trade unions are tightly controlled by the government. Throughout Africa the major unions are presently drawing away from both Communist and Western-dominated international trade union federations and are seeking to establish exclusively African groupings.

One possible way in which Communism might gain a foothold in Africa is by infiltrating secretly-trained members into positions of leadership in newly-formed parties. This possibility exists, however, only in those states where the political situation is not yet fully stabilized—the Congo, Nigeria, Uganda, or Kenya, or where whites still rule. Here the Communists can still attempt to secure control of what may be the future ruling parties. In Kenya, for instance, where Kenyatta has failed to become the undisputed leader of the nation, the Chinese Communists are seeking to undermine both Kenyatta and the moderate Tom Mboya by openly subsidizing extremist elements. But most African leaders referred to by the press as "Moscow-trained" have actually spent only days or weeks being wined and dined behind the Iron Curtain. It is unlikely that the Communists have found in their Cook's tours a magical means for insuring a more permanent loyalty to Communism.

Ideological labels of any kind must be attached to African leaders only with extreme caution, and most labels of political import are actually meaningless. Today's friend of Communism may be tomorrow's enemy, just as today's enemy may be tomorrow's friend. Such decisions are made by African leaders not in terms of their effect on the Cold War but of their effect on the struggle for power within Africa. And insofar as these leaders are concerned with world politics, they are not slow to recognize that what influence they have is largely the result of their readiness to transfer their favor from one side to the other.

Because the independent African nations south of the Sahara do not provide the kinds of economic and social injustice on which Communism thrives, and because African leaders are more interested in increasing their own and their countries' power than in ideology, and because the leadership for a Communist opposition is lacking, these states currently are in little danger of falling under Communist control. But this does not mean that we have nothing to fear from Communism in Africa.

The Communists start out with certain built-in advantages in their relations with Africa. In the first place, they are not thought of as imperialists. To the African, imperialism means overseas imperialism; colonialism means whites ruling non-whites. Hungary and Berlin are far away; Angola and South Africa are next-door neighbors. A second advantage the Communists have is that they can afford to be more irresponsible in their anti-colonialism than we can. Not only do they not have the ruffled feelings or economies of allies to consider, they do not even have to concern themselves with the real economic or intellectual well-being of the Africans themselves. Insofar as Russian or Chinese cultural influence destroys British or French influence, the Communists can count this as pure gain, and if economic chaos is substituted for mutually beneficial "neo-colonist" economic relations, this too can be regarded as a gain by the Communists.

The Communists have the further advantage in Africa of sheer novelty. They will necessarily make some propaganda headway in areas where they have never before had embassies and information services. Many independent African nations are greatly increasing their cultural and economic contacts with the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the East European satellites because of a desire to "equalize" their relations with East and West. And the Communists, on their part, are always ready to undercut Western bids for influence by promising to build a factory more cheaply or to give a scholarship to a student who could not meet the entrance requirements of an American school.

But despite the myth that the Communists are preternaturally clever and assiduous in developing good relations with former colonial peoples, they have not taken as full advantage of their new opportunities as they might. Despite great efforts, they still lag behind the West in African expertise. The Russians and Chinese are emphasizing the study of African languages, but only a handful of Communist bloc nationals have spent any amount of time in Africa, while thousands of Western researchers, teachers, businessmen, missionaries and civil servants have first-hand knowledge of Africa, many of them as long-time residents. Perhaps partly as a result of this lack, Russian political relations in Africa have often been clumsily handled. For instance, in Guinea, a country which many Americans were ready to write off as a Communist satellite, the Russians so badly overplayed their hand that they were accused by the Guinea government of backing a plot to overthrow President Touré.

In their trade relations also the Russians have suffered setbacks. Russian-African trade agreements give the Soviets good initial publicity, but the Africans are discovering that the low interest rates offered by the Communists are more than offset by artificially high prices and the shoddiness of the goods received. Africans

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are among the world's shrewdest traders, and the backwash from these Russian tactics is fast piling up.

Even in the field of human relations the Communists are not doing as well as we are often led to believe. The impact of American racial discrimination on the American image in Africa is great, but not as great as sometimes claimed. More important to the African than what happens in Oxford or Little Rock—and most Africans of any importance know whose side the troops were on—is what happens in this country to African diplomats, and other African visitors. Still more important—since most Africans are reached by the mass media only indirectly if at all—is what happens in Africa, and, generally speaking, personal relations between Americans and Africans in Africa are noticeably better than those between Africans and citizens of the Soviet bloc. Most Americans who go to Africa are already self-screened for a willingness to adjust to Africa and Africans, but Communist technicians are usually there involuntarily. They have little of the almost pathological desire of most Americans to be liked. They are isolated, regimented, and in general find living and working with persons of different skin color and culture difficult.

Potentially more dangerous than the Russians are the Communist Chinese, who operate in competition rather than collaboration with the Soviets. They have two advantages denied the Russians: they are non-white, and with no diplomatic interests in Europe they can afford to be more reckless in their support of anti-Western policies. For example, while Russia, still hoping to wean de Gaulle from NATO, limited its support of the F.L.N. in Algeria, the Chinese went all out in backing the insurgents. And, whereas the Russians seek to encourage existing neutralist governments to adopt a pro-Soviet position, the Chinese are cultivating as yet impotent exiles to the left even of Nkrumah and Touré in the hope that someday they may be in a position to seize power. Even so, Chinese policy has not yet paid very high dividends, although Chinese radio broadcasts to Africa presently equal those of the Russians and East European, combined, in extent and outdo them in violence.

SO FAR, then, although the Communist powers have sometimes found African collaborators at the diplomatic level in the United Nations and elsewhere, they have not succeeded in penetrating African political and social life at the grass roots, nor do they seem likely to do so in the near future. What can we do to help keep things this way?

One obvious answer is to maintain—or, more accurately, institute—a level of economic aid to African nations which will make it possible for them to fulfill some of their more realistic aspirations. For one hope for the Communists in Africa is to convince African leaders that only Communism possesses the key to the rapid industrialization and modernization they desire. But economic progress alone is not enough.

The fruits of the progress must be equitably distributed. As African societies modernize, economic cleavages are certain to develop where none existed before. If too many hopes and promises are left unfulfilled, if progress is too slow or the distribution of its benefits too narrow, a potentially explosive situation could result. If, in addition, the young Africans now being trained in the schools and universities are unable to achieve the social and economic status to which they feel their education entitles them, they could provide the fuse to set off the explosion. Should the economies of the African nations falter, unfulfilled aspirations could lead to social breakdown and the elevation to power of elements which might look to the Communists for inspiration and support.

The greatest source of Communist strength in Africa is the fact that the Soviet Union and, to an even greater extent, Communist China can claim to have been underdeveloped nations which modernized themselves by their own efforts, through the mechanism of one-party states dominated by the intelligentsia. Many African nationalist leaders and movements find it easier to identify with the Communists than the West—not because of Marxist ideology but because of economic and political analogies. If the governments of Africa cannot provide rapid and widespread progress, the pull of the Russian and Chinese examples may prove increasingly compelling.

It is therefore necessary for us to do what we can to insure continued economic progress in Africa and to encourage a just sharing of the profits of progress. It is also important, however, for us to be more relaxed in our attitude toward Africa. Despite its great size and still undeveloped mineral wealth, Africa's population and resources are not going to be decisive in the worldwide struggle in which we are engaged. What happens in Africa cannot decide the Cold War either in favor of the West or the Communists. In Africa as elsewhere we must seek to minimize Communist influence, but, paradoxically, if we see Cold War Armageddon lurking in every growing pain of African independence we are going to play right into the Communists' hands.

By branding African leaders as Communist or pro-Communist we tend to isolate them and make them what we fear they are. By introducing the Cold War into African politics we can force African nations to oppose us. Americans may not always approve of the particular forms of government or economy evolving in Africa today, but to call them Communistic is not only foolish, but a valuable gift to our enemies. There may be some remote danger of a future Communist Africa, but we cannot protect ourselves or the African from such an eventuality by playing the part of the boy who kept crying wolf.

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Catholic Journal, Protestant Columnist

I APPROACH the task of writing a column for *The Commonweal* with a sense of excitement and anticipation. But the excitement and anticipation, I must immediately report, are tempered by a generous portion of Pauline "fear and trembling." The mere *existence* of this column—unfettered comment by a Protestant in a Roman Catholic journal—is itself a significant symbol of Catholic openness and generosity in the new era of ecumenical relationship that has recently dawned. This is the cause of the excitement and anticipation. Whether, from month to month, the *content* of the column will measure up to what its mere existence portends is, needless to say, the cause of the fear and trembling.

The ability to live with a certain amount of serenity in the crossfire of these two attitudes is possible only by taking as one's own the audacious claim Paul goes on to make after his reference to "fear and trembling": the reminder that "it is God that worketh in you. . . ." This, fortunately for human pride, is not the audaciousness of a human claim about a human achievement, but a claim about the audaciousness of God (and, in this case, the humility of God), who chooses, incredibly enough, to work through human vessels. I shall presume upon the candor of *Commonweal* readers to make apparent those times when it is clear that God is *not* working through this particular human vessel, and shall take what comfort I can from my belief that in such situations God can use even the wrath of men to praise Him.

What can such a column as this hope to accomplish? Without presuming to judge the inner intentions of the editors of *The Commonweal* when they decided to make this space regularly available to a Protestant, and a Presbyterian at that, I feel it only proper, since I am to be a co-laborer in this particular vineyard, to give some indication of the concerns I shall hope to express within (if not between) its lines. In good sermonic fashion, I can point to three.

One function that I hope to fulfill will be to attempt to interpret to Catholic readers certain things that are happening in the Protestant world. When there is an important event in the Catholic world, I do not only turn to *Christianity and Crisis* or *The Christian Century* to see how my fellow Protestants interpret it. I also turn to *The Commonweal* or *America* or *Cross Currents* to see how it is being interpreted "from the inside." (Just to round things off, let's add *Christianity Today* to the former list, and *The American Ecclesiastical Review* to the latter.) In similar fashion, I would hope that Catholic readers might occasionally be interested in what a Protestant feels about "the Blake proposal," or an action of the World Council of Churches, or some other intramural Protestant matter. If Catholics are even half as ignorant of things Protestant as Protestants are of things Catholic, there is room for Protestant reporting that is aimed particularly at Catholic readership.

But if there is a place for Protestant reporting on Protestant activities, there is also a place for Protestant commentary on Catholic activities. I am assuming in this second pole of concern that Catholics—at least Catholic readers of *The Commonweal*—are interested in how non-Catholics react to what Catholics are doing and saying in the world today. I think it is possible to pinpoint a real breakthrough in this area, coincident with the publication a few years ago of *American Catholics: A Protestant-Jewish View*, a volume of essays edited by, and produced under the initiative of, Philip Scharper of Sheed and Ward. The favorable reception accorded this volume in the Catholic world makes clear that Catholics are willing to read and ponder fairly candid appraisals of how they appear in the eyes of their non-Catholic brethren. The added fact that the presence of "the others" has been taken very seriously by the bishops assembled at the Second Vatican Council is an intimation that such concern is not limited to a few far-out American Catholics, but is increasingly symptomatic of the church as a whole.

In manifesting the willingness, if not the brashness, to offer occasional comments on things Catholic, I am conscious of the fact that I may sometimes, though I hope not frequently, be guilty of misunderstanding and misinterpretation, and will need to be set straight. But this, rather than acting as a deterrent to expression, can even be a spur—not that I like being wrong, but that if Protestant misconceptions can be exposed and effectively laid to rest, this can only represent gain for all concerned. That exchanges in this area demand mutual candor is evident; this can itself be creative if the candor is not simply for the sake of candor but for the sake of truth and love.

But in addition to reporting on Protestant happenings and commenting on Catholic happenings, a column such as this has a third function, possibly the most potentially creative of all. This function would be manifested on occasions when I was writing not primarily as a Protestant to Catholics, dealing with points of difference, but writing rather as a Christian to fellow Christians, presupposing points of conviction we already share, and examining some problem or issue in the name of our common allegiance to Christ, as we face together, whether as Catholics or Protestants, a world that is tragically torn asunder precisely because it does not share the perspective we share—that the resources of both wisdom and grace are manifested through a cross and an empty tomb.

ROBERT MCAFEE BROWN

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THE SCREEN

Sang-Freud

IT WAS almost inevitable that John Huston, Hollywood's daring young man both on and off the flying trapeze, should tackle a serious, full-length picture on Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis. Undaunted by any subject, Huston has made films (with various degrees of success) like "Moby Dick," "The Red Badge of Courage," "Moulin Rouge" (about deformed Toulouse-Lautrec), "Heaven Knows, Mr. Allison" (about a nun and a soldier on an island), "The African Queen" (about a dangerous voyage with an old maid and tough boatman) and several others with equally risky themes. His interest in the great psychologist stems back to World War II when, along with other military shorts, he made "Let There Be Light" which was concerned with the rehabilitation of psychoneurotic soldiers. It was an interest that grew through the years—until it finally jelled and is now on our screens in the impressive "Freud."

John Huston has said of his film that he did not attempt to make a biography of Sigmund Freud, but "a motion picture which would dramatize the experiments that led to his discoveries." "Freud" covers the years 1885 to 1890, and its scriptwriters, Charles Kaufman and Wolfgang Reinhardt, although sometimes rearranging details and telescoping chronology, have been faithful to the biographical facts and the master's theories. Admitting that his film is ambitious in attempting to penetrate to the unconscious of the audience, Huston also said, "We offer an unusually dramatic entertainment, a new species of thriller, a sort of mystery which exposes the sometime assassin Freud found deep within each of us."

On this score, the film is not entirely successful. It ends with Freud's famous lecture on infantile sexuality and the Oedipus Complex, which greatly upset his audience at the Vienna Medical Society. While many of today's audience watching the movie accept and are no longer disturbed by Freud's discoveries in these two important subjects, they are aware that Freud's scientific probing went much farther and his later work set the earlier theories in their proper perspective. Furthermore, since each viewer of the film brings his own different problems and neuroses to it, he may find it difficult to project himself into the story as it is told.

The plot follows the thirty-year-old Freud (Montgomery Clift) from the time of his leaving the Vienna General Hospital after disagreements with his Professor Meynert (Eric Portman) and his going to Paris to study under Dr. Charcot, an authority on hypnosis. After returning to Vienna, he marries Martha Bernays (Susan Kohner) and starts his long association with Dr. Joseph Breuer (excellently played by Larry Parks as a wise, fatherly, though often disagreeing teacher and friend). Much of the rest of the long film is developed like a mystery thriller with Freud treating a patient, Cecily Koertner, turned over to him by Breuer. Step by step, the picture covers Freud's advances into the unconscious through Cecily's case and through his delving into his own past. And slowly, although they are not named at the time, the film illustrates various concepts about hysterical illness, psychological traumas, repressions, free association, transference, infantile sexuality, and other now-familiar terms of psychiatry.

To audiences well versed in the field, "Freud" may at times have all the naïveté of the movies about composers which show Chopin or Gershwin or Cole Porter stumbling on an idea for a new song. But as a whole, "Freud" is very well done, and is in amazingly good taste in spite of its often delicate subject matter. Wolfgang Reinhardt's production is extraordinarily handsome with stunning black-and-white photography that has captured Vienna of the 80's with pictures that are frequently like old engravings. The important dream sequences and flashbacks are well handled too.

Montgomery Clift plays the title role effectively, but I found myself, since there is so much of him, getting tired of his voice and face—even those eyes that Huston describes as seeing more than ordinary eyes. Susannah York is excellent as Cecily, the patient whose case history the film concentrates on. Actually, Cecily is a composite of several cases; and I'm not sure that it was wise to give the girl so many symptoms (insomnia, paralysis, semi-blindness, and others) before Dr. Freud gets deep down into her basic sexuality. But Miss York runs the gamut well, even if her case seems somewhat exaggerated. Outstanding in the supporting cast are Eileen Herlie as Cecily's mother and Rosalie Crutchley as Sigmund's. Although the movie is often talky and static, John Huston manages to hold his audience's interest. Films about geniuses and ideas are not easy to make, and if "Freud" should succeed in its goal in making people more aware of themselves, it must be applauded for its achievement.

MORE DRAMATIC and personal is "David and Lisa," a film about emotionally disturbed adolescents who live at a private school where along with their class work they are given psychotherapy. Freud would have been fascinated and no doubt approving of a movie, which like "Freud," doesn't use a lot of psychiatric jargon but illustrates it.

David, portrayed in a first-rate performance by Keir Dullea, is a rather intelligent lad who shows no emotion except through his intense fear of being touched. Brought to the school by his mother, who obviously is closely connected with his problems, David considers himself quite superior to his classmates—and even to the

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psychiatrist (Howard Da Silva) who runs the place. But eventually he becomes interested in another patient, Lisa (beautifully played by Janet Margolin), and is successful in breaking down some of her resistance. The girl imagines herself as two girls, one completely mute and the other who talks only in rhyme. The change in these two as they become more and more friendly and as David learns to accept the psychiatrist is told convincingly in good cinematics and in sound psychology.

Director Frank Perry successfully makes us care for these young people and want their recovery. Paul M. Heller gave "David and Lisa" a good production with a fine cast throughout, and the script by Eleanor Perry is absorbing without depending too much on dialogue. While "Freud" is coolly emphasizing Know Thyself, "David and Lisa" is warmly teaching us to love and understand our neighbor.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Iglesia La Valenciana

Inside and outside fuse in their flower:
which is the tension of peace. A centrifuge
radical with life; soundless, still,
(except for the stained flame through the cup's red glass
shelter.)
The towering soaring carven crowd on crowd
rank on rank of that celestial brood
in a stasis of wings, all those wooden wild
tiny faces from the prodigal peeling golden altar
peer.

Outside, the small hierarchical square, flowers and hot herbs in an order of love alive in a center of sun-pebbles, calendulas, roses—occupied in immobility by peace, generate power; are inside
the church, are outside, are real. So that the backdrop of the jumble of savage mountains and the bones of cliffs and the coasting vulture are transparently artificial: exposed by those roses silent in their silent air.

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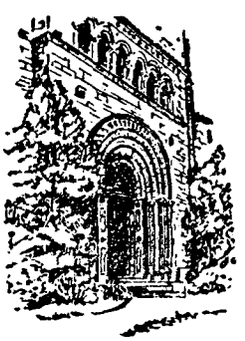

Prospective students should make early application

THE STAGE

Nobody Here But Us Weeklies

IN THE EXPECTATION that the newspaper strike will not be ended by anyone's seasonal good will, and in the hope that whenever it does end we will all be found to have kicked the habit, this column herewith offers a handy clip-out guide—mostly *caveats* but preserved from total misanthropy by one or two vivacious recommendations—to what is indisputably the worst season since Broadway's seasons all started being referred to as the worst.

"Lord Pengo" is a *New Yorker* profile brought to the stage, which is to say that it lacks the support of those sinuously elegant advertisements which surround such exercises in the magazine and serve as agreeable relief from the fathomless emptiness of what we are reading. There is no way, short of staying home, to avoid paying attention to the latest episode in S. N. Behrman's antique dream of civilized existence, this one concerning the career of the master art merchant, Duveen, whose bilked and cosseted clientele are supposed to constitute the cast of a parable of all lovable, gullible, frail and empty-headed acquisitors everywhere. Charles Boyer is an old pro; the only trouble is that the game he is engaged in was last played, before this occasion, about 1911. (*At the Royale*)

"Calculated Risk" is a thriller about business, or a business about thrills, or what price woolens or what price Joseph Cotten. A stern, finely quivering gentleman seated next to this correspondent remarked to his female companion as the first-act curtain fell, "I'm in the same damn business and I don't understand a goddamn thing." To be in another business, that of the criticism of drama, is, let us assure the indignant captain of industry, to be left just as nonplussed by the evening's activities. (*At the Ambassador*)

There is not much left to say about "Beyond the Fringe" except that this four-man English satirical revue is light years beyond anything our own commercial stage seems capable of doing. Indeed, it seems rather miraculous that it should so quickly have become such a towering success, since its humor has nothing whatever to do with suburban bedrooms, nubile adolescents, presidential foibles or the tenacity of crab grass. (*At the Golden*)

"Night Life" is Sidney Kingsley's reincarnation as Sidney Kingsley, a vastly unpleasant, arty, gaseous anachronism, a theatrical fashion show in which the styles of the twenties and thirties are trotted out under labels reading "Dior" and "Balenciaga." That it should have been found "theatrically inventive" and "technically exciting" is one more testimony to the absolute sleep in which our highly-paid sentinels of the daily

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drama scene are preserved. (*At the Brooks Atkinson*)

"The Affair" has stimulated the same glands that "Gideon" and "A Passage to India" and "A Gift of Time" set flowing last year. It is an *adult* drama. What this means in Broadway terms is that it is for men and women who like to like to think, people who want their theater-going to be full of substances they can chew on afterwards—issues, ideas, moral dilemmas—and then spit out at their leisure. What it means in human terms is that it is for children, especially pretentious, badly-educated, snotty children who like to play at being adults. (*At the Henry Miller*)

If you have never been to a live television show, "Never too Late" is the one to see, for here is situation comedy at its intolerable zenith of professionalism. The situation is that of a sixtyish suburban gentleman who discovers that his somewhat younger but already matronly wife is in process of adding another offspring to the one they already have—a twenty-four-year-old married daughter. The possibilities for some uproarious spoofing of certain of our cherished institutions are of course endless, as are the opportunities of making hay out of a great deal of domestic straw. But if you are thinking of laughing, know that the resemblance of Paul Ford to a put-upon seal obeys, like so many other phenomena, the law of diminishing returns. (*At the Playhouse*)

There is only one drama worthy of the intelligent playgoer's consideration this year. "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" exhibits, for three and a half hours, all of Edward Albee's well-wrought talents. If the play's ultimate reality is undermined and brought near collapse by Mr. Albee's unconquerable impulse to be more profound than he is capable of being, that is no reason to refrain from exposure to its bitter and salutary accomplishments along the way. (*At the Billy Rose*)

"Mr. President" has to be seen to be believed, or the other way round. (*At the St. James*) RICHARD GILMAN

BOOKS

A Representative Selection of Current American Catholic Theology

The Encounter With God. Edited by Joseph E. O'Neill, S.J. Macmillan. $4.00.

by Michael Novak

TO PRIME a pump, one has to use water. This modest collection of articles aims, as John Courtney Murray writes in his introduction, to assist many in fulfilling "the duty of developing a theological culture in America." But the cisterns of American culture creak and bang, more than they provide theological water; and the present essays are no more than a few drops on the unused pipes.

It is astonishing how very few books American theologians have produced: so many colleges and seminaries, so little show of life. As a primer of American theology, the present book is unoriginal, unexciting, uncreative; but it is a fair survey of the new positions seized by European Catholic theology in the struggles of our century.

Six of the book's seven articles appeared originally in *Thought*; all are by Jesuits. Four are surveys: of contemporary arguments concerning Miracles (Robert W. Gleason), Christology (Thomas E. Clarke), Mariology (Quentin Quesnell), the Sacraments (Matthew J. O'Connell). Three relate secular to theological themes: symbolism to kerygmatic theology (Herbert Musurillo), historical and literary method to the task of the preacher (Francis J. McCool), personalist philosophy to the experience of God (P. De Letter). The survey form appeared to inhibit the first four authors; the articles are below the standards of grace and wit that inspire much secular scholarship. Besides, the almost total reliance on what European scholars are doing makes the discussions seem largely irrelevant to those who speak an American idiom and are busy with American concerns.

The essays by Father Musurillo, McCool and De Letter are livelier. Fr. Musurillo's account of modern communication theory leads him little by little outside the ghetto, until by the time he is calling theology "man's attempt to discover the finite symbolic means of expressing the implications of God's intrusion in history," he is rendering *fides quaerens intellectum* in technical but informative idiom. His emphasis on psychic experience and on the human imagination, his clear grasp that "symbolism and allegorism are at the heart of all Christian literature, beginning with the Gospels," and his lucid presentation of secular findings on the human drive to symbolize, make his essay the most likely in the book to send a root of theology into our culture. His brief judgments on the role of the Catholic philosopher and artist are, however, grievously *simpliste*.

Fr. McCool's essay on Preacher vs. Exegete in the current biblical revival is, on the one hand, an attempt to alleviate the fears of those priests who "received their theological training before 1943" (the date of *Divino Afflante Spiritu*) and, on the other, an historical description of biblical theology and a case study in how to use its methods. He begins with von Ranke's ideal of "pure historical source," shows how it failed to do justice to the historical content of the Gospels, and uses the parable of the Sower to exemplify a fuller, more careful technique. The article is clear and satisfying, if coy in its appeal to Preacher not to mistrust Exegete.

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Fr. De Letter's attempt at a "theology of encounter" weaves personalistic philosophy and considerations of psychology into the notions of grace and faith. But his use of a phrase, "ontological reality," as some thing to grab onto at several rough stages of his argument leads to a decline of lucidity. Furthermore, he allows himself to say that what is most central to religious aspirations is "the need of an absolute on which we can rest both our weakness as creatures and our aspirations for the infinite," without protecting himself from objections common since Freud. The work Fr. De Letter begins greatly needs doing, but with more care.

The main point of the article on miracles is the emphasis current theology puts on the religious context and interpretation of a miracle, rather than on its reference to laws of nature. This is the least well organized of the articles. The main point of Fr. Clarke's survey on Christology is to emphasize the complexity and richness of present discussions about Christ; all that tradition and contemporary men mean by "God" and "man" enter the affirmation that Christ is both. Fr. Clarke is clear, solid, provocative. But he does not even mention Bernard Lonergan's tract on Christ, the most original, startling, and successful our age has seen.

Fr. Quesnell's readable summary of arguments that "Mary is the Church" suffers from the inevitable flaw of a theology whose impelling motive is, finally, devotion. When his careful analysis is finished, Mary is seen to be the Church only in a cabalistic, elaborately defined sense that no one would have imagined. It is not Fr. Quesnell's fault, but that of a theological movement which imagines that simple devotion is the ground of, rather than needs grounding in, theology. I cannot disguise a feeling of scandal and disturbance at this attenuated theological doctrine, whose implications are neither realistic nor applicable to the lives of most of us. We simply do not know enough about Mary to justify more than modest efforts to make her the model men must follow in becoming what she became, full of grace. We may love her, beseech her help, magnify the Lord on her account, give her a new Chartres in our hearts; but we cannot afford the luxury of rationalizing immense structures upon a very few revealed facts. And we cannot protect devotion this way.

Finally, Father O'Connell describes the recovered patristic insights and the new sense of liturgical life which have led recent theologians to see the sacraments less as the Tridentine theologians saw them than as St. Augustine and his Greek peers did: as "symbolic actions, heavy with the age-old desires and aspirations of religious man. . . ." He stresses that the recipient's part "is not a purely physical submission, but is the symbolic expression of an inner spiritual attitude." Here, too, is a move beyond dead physical causality to the psychology of symbolization.

These essays constitute a reasonably accurate reflection of the state of American Catholic theology: derivative, uneven in quality, largely separated from secular scholarship, rather drearily written, but at least self-conscious and striving. The authors are noticeably preoccupied with not alarming the censorious and timid; signs of fear and apology are on nearly every page.

Beyond the Lure of the Common Style

The World for Wedding Ring. By Daniel Berrigan, S.J. Macmillan. $2.95.

by Janet Fiscalini

SOME TIME ago one found poets with religious concerns adapting medieval forms and themes. Later, we had borrowings from the great seventeenth century religious literature, and, of course, from Hopkins and certain French poets. A few religious poets have taken the most hazardous way and struggled with particular forms for particular experience.

Though I can only guess the reasons, it seems to me natural that religious poets more than others should depart from the common style of the period. Perhaps at most times the common style tends toward a typical gracefulness which, however perfectly it may fix some social experience, is inadequate to a religious subject. Or perhaps the common style of this period is not serious or trustful enough for religious poetry. After all, it is not merely a matter of fashionable epithets, images, and rhythms, but of the attitudes which favor them, and even more, of certain "lyric plots," certain expected sequences of feeling.

In any case, I think that in this book Father Berrigan has relied too much upon the familiar patterns of the schools and magazines. He is a sensitive writer, and it is not a question of derivativeness, but of a generalized, public-literary quality. This is especially apparent in poems like "Hope" and "Landscapes There Are," emblematic set pieces in a convention which has been overworked. Others have slain their thousands; Marianne Moore has slain her ten thousands.

The dramatic poems are far better. The traditional baroque imagery of "The Holy Innocents" is delicately and convincingly handled, and "Deathbed," one of the most original poems in the book, is strong and terse. There are splendid passages in "Lazarus" and "A Doge In Hell":

Gentlemen, time nudges a sleeping
  hulk in vain
. . . . . time time
cracks me like chestnuts, a puff, a
  rot.

  Silence rolled over and over my
  body its
monstrous milling, till a fine dust
settled on millstone death.
If truth were told, the white dust
  could not tell it. . . .

At times, also, and especially in the most directly personal poems, Father Berrigan has a memorable lyric simplicity:

I have not loved the poor.
I have not died yet.
Yet I am poor

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as all the shanties of the world gone up in one flare. . . .

Impending Revelations

Children Is All. By James Purdy. New Directions. $4.25.

by Richard Horchler

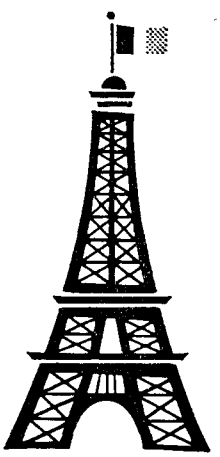
THE PRO- AND anti-James Purdy factions will no doubt be excited anew by this latest volume. In the ten short stories and two short plays of *Children Is All*, Purdy displays once more the talents, quirks and compulsions that have, in the few short years he has been publishing, moved his readers to almost equal extravagance of praise and exasperation.

What is best in this volume is unmistakably Purdy. Perhaps the same is true of what is worst in it, but that is at least a less obvious conclusion. "Daddy Wolf," for instance, the first story in the collection, is a totally successful *tour de force*—a semi-hysterical monologue by a Negro whose wife and child have abandoned him and their rat-infested tenement flat. Dialogue has always been a Purdy strength, and in "Daddy Wolf" the speech is exactly right. It is funny, sad, realistic and poetic, conveying a story that slides imperceptibly from the closely observed commonplace to the hallucinatory and symbolic.

In Purdy's stories, of course, the hallucinatory and symbolic *are* the commonplace, or at least they make themselves felt in the sense of doom and strangeness, of impending revelation, which is attached in Purdy's world to every human situation. So it is in "Encore," another of the more successful stories in the book. As in most of Purdy's narratives, nothing much happens in "Encore," except that a despairing mother eats some jello" and her grown son plays his harmonica. But in the "ordinary," albeit pain-filled, mother-son encounter, the meaninglessness of their conversation, the *non sequiturs*, the arrested gestures, the silences—everything, no matter how inconsequential, is charged with an almost unbearable weight of *significance*. Invariably in Purdy's stories the nature of that significance remains mysterious, but always it is threatening and tragic.

Such stories have been praised, and rightfully, for their "insights," their perceptions of the madness or horror or agony that lurks beneath the surface of all our lives. This is Purdy's great gift—to be able to hear the thunderclap of significance in the merest word, to see the presences which are felt by all, but denied by those who live in the "clear light of every day." Often enough, though, Purdy's visions are so obscure, so tremulous and fragmentary that they signify nothing except that they are visions. Often the strangeness of his imaged world makes it impossible to believe in, impossible to be moved by anything so remote, so blurred and shapeless.

These are standard objections to fiction like this, and they are real. Most basically, an epiphany must show forth *something*; Purdy's revelations tend to be as incoherent as the life he depicts. But the most surprising observation to be made about *Children Is All* is that its stories are



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perhaps worse, not better, when their author seems to have heeded the suggestions implicit in this kind of criticism. That is, the stories which are least vague and least incredible, which turn from the world of irrationality and dream in favor of tangible reality and "normal people in normal situations," are at least as bad in their way as the most unfortunate of Purdy's grotesqueries. Without the surrealistic twist, the hint of hysteria which gives point to the other stories, Purdy's more "realistic" narratives—"Mrs. Benson," for instance, which is a labyrinthine conversation between two women in a tea shop—succeed only in being at the same time trivial and pretentious. One is reminded not of Henry James but of the caricatures of James, such as the H. G. Wells description of the Jamesian cathedral, empty and echoing, the high altar bathed in light, and resting on it "a dead kitten, an eggshell, a piece of string."

The plays in this collection—"Children Is All" and, especially, "Cracks"—prove only that Purdy is no playwright. They are static, clumsy, self-consciously oracular, as the stories seldom are, as well as murky and diffuse, as the stories not so seldom are. That is not to deny, of course, that they have flashes of poignance, memorable images and gems of language.

But as a volume, *Children Is All* is weak and faltering. Some of the stories in it are masterful; most of them are impressive. Even at their best, however, they add up, for me, to little more than a sudden wrench of pain, a shudder, a glimpse of the moving darkness. Brilliant and rare as these displays may be, I am afraid there is little in them to engage us very long.

REVIEWERS

Michael Novak, a regular contributor, is a member of the faculty at Harvard University. He is author of the recently published novel, *The Tiber Was Silver.*

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"UGANDA HAS *declared Senator Ellender a 'prohibited immigrant' and forced him to cancel the Ugandoid portion of his tour. If Uganda thinks the legislator of a government that has gone* $302 *billion into debt has little cause to sermonize upon administrative competence, Uganda may have a point; but if Uganda's pique derives from the principle that no man can visit a nation he has insulted, Uganda had better start searching for another place to put the UN."*

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The Commonweal Approach

OF ALL THE EFFORTS that have been made to summarize this magazine's point of view, perhaps the thumbnail description that comes the closest to the truth remains the statement that The Commonweal represents "not a movement but an attitude."

That attitude is a Catholic attitude, and The Commonweal is generally referred to as a Catholic publication, although it is not, to use the term people apply to diocesan papers and magazines published by religious communities, an "official" Catholic publication. Rather, The Commonweal is, quite simply, a magazine published by men who are themselves Catholic and who endeavor to express a point of view on temporal matters in conformity with their religious principles. . . .

Since the editors of this magazine are laymen, its primary concern is with the temporal order, which is the specific province of the layman. In the light of their religious beliefs, the editors see the temporal order as being directly related to the spiritual, and their day-to-day judgments reflect this conviction.

Add to this the further fact that contributors to The Commonweal include many of the world's ablest Catholic writers, and it is not hard to see what distinguishes this magazine from comparable "secular" journals and why the magazine is generally thought of as Catholic. But there is nothing more "officially" Catholic about The Commonweal than this, and the editors have always gone to some lengths to make this fact quite clear. . . .

There is no secret about the fact that The Commonweal frequently represents a minority point of view—or at least a point of view quite different from that found in many diocesan papers and Catholic magazines. For example, the editors were—and are—unable to share the enthusiasm of most American Catholic publications for Generalissimo Franco. In Father Coughlin's era The Commonweal saw his *Social Justice* as intolerant and totalitarian in spirit, and said so. More recently, while some "official" Catholic publications heaped praise on Senator McCarthy and scorn upon his critics, the editors of this magazine viewed his "crusade" in a context of national fear and self-doubt and felt it had little to do with any rational means of dealing with the Communist threat.

That our opinions on such public questions drew criticisms and disagreement from other Catholics did not surprise us. . . . There is nothing extraordinary about the fact that Catholics frequently disagree on specific questions of the day. Indeed, the only extraordinary thing would be if this were not the case. But what is disturbing is the way some Catholics try to elevate personal judgments on passing events or political figures into dogmas of orthodoxy which all must hold if they are not to be labeled "pseudo" or "so-called" Catholics.

—from the 35th Anniversary issue

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